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ABSTRACT

This report is the cutcome of an attempt to relate what may be called the "Le Pagean view of competence" to a linguistic community very different from that which gave rise to the concept. While upholding the general principles, the paper contends that the methodology elaborated for work in fluid creole communities may not be universally appropriate. A variety of association testing is proposed as an alternative technique. The community studied in an experiment testing this technique was that of Strasbourg. The approach of Saer to bilingualism was adopted, i.e., abandoning the sequential aspect of language for an associationist view. The experiment consisted of two parts: a word-association test in which a mixture of French and German words were read to the subjects, who were free to respond in either language; and a simple test of recall, again using a mixture of French and German. Results of this experiment seem to corroborate the validity of the technique, but much further work is needed before this kind of experiment can be usefully employed. (AM)

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BILINGUALISM IN ALSACE: AN ASSOCIATIONIST APPROACH TO "COMPETENCE".

Tim Chapman

This report is the outcome of an attempt to relate what may be called the 'Le Pagean view of competence' to a linguistic community very different from that which gave rise to the concept. While upholding the general principles, we shall contend that the *methodology* elaborated for work in fluid creole communities may not be universally appropriate. A variety of association testing is proposed as an alternative technique.

In the Le Pagean view (1973), norms of (in this case linguistic) behaviour are conceptualised as internal idiosyncratic creations, the products of a universal human need to identify oneself with idiosyncratically delimited groups of people. These norms are perceived as abstractions of the typical behaviour of that group, and are adopted and 'projected onto the social screen' by the aspiring individual. Similarly, distancing may occur away from unattractive groups, with appropriate rejection of the norms abstracted from what is considered to be their typical behaviour. Le Page's well-documented 'four riders' are an expression of the constraints on the individual's act of identification, and form a simple but powerful basis for the study of linguistic variability. In consequence, a 'language' is not considered to be an entity the form of which its speakers are obliged to adopt, as Saussure would maintain, but an abstraction based on perceptions of behaviour which are as much those of the trained linguist as of the ubiquitous 'individual'.

The methodology of this approach as exemplified by the British Honduras material (Le Page, 1974, forthcoming) relates particular features of pronunciation to various social poles within the community and simply counts these traits in children using successively different speech styles. The direct comparison of one child's results with another's assumes that the young interviewees' reactions to presumably unvarying interview conditions were uniform. This is not necessarily so, and differences in the children's reactions to being talked to in such conditions may even have followed certain social group boundaries. A child displaying behavioural characteristics affected by Spanish influences in the community may have felt less obliged to adopt a formal style, for example, than the child with much *r*-colouration who seems to identify itself with higher socio-economic strata. Indeed the two children may even have had different ways of indicating formality in their speech.

In examining every individual through only one pair of eyes, as it were, (the eyes fashioned by the uniform conditions of the interview) Le Page's cluster-arrangement of persons in social space is an abstraction just like ones made by every child in perceiving its social universe. The pictures both the sociolinguist and the child paint of the community are influenced by:

(a) the particular delimitation of the universe and the groups witnin it,

(b) the abstraction of particular norms from the behaviour of the groups so delimited,
(c) the assumption that everyone else in the universe is painting the same picture using the same universe, groups and norms.

If the sociolinguist can temporarily occupy a place in the community which resembles that of the child, and perceive with the eyes of the child the social workings going on around him, his own abstractions of (a) and (b) above will resemble closely enough the child's abstractions and making assumption (c) as the child does, his resulting view of the community may resemble fairly closely that of the child. 'Cracking a culture' as Le Page points out, is not a weekend business. For my own part, in Strasbourg, I was far from gaining such an intimate view of the workings of even a very small social group. Therefore I can but analyse my results considering only one individual at a time, noting the first linguistic indications of some kind of act of identification.

In Strasbourg the linguistic data are by no means as 'transparent' as those of the Caribbean. In Alsace the terms 'pidgin' or 'creole' would not be employed in their classic senses: the situation is more what has traditionally been described as 'bilingual'. The sequential linguistic clues to acts of identity seem to amount to what are commonly called 'accents' in the pronunciation of otherwise highly normalised, homogeneous forms of behaviour: what are referred to as 'French' and 'Alsatian'. French linguistic behaviour is the product of centuries of fierce normalisation and totemisation, and in the case of 'Alsatian' -- despite great regional differentiation -- what is already a highly polarised mode of behaviour is at present in the forefront of a cultural revival movement which if it succeeds will no doubt embark on the necessary amount of dictionary and grammar writing to create a fully-fledged 'Alsatian language'.

It might have been feasible to adopt Le Page's pronunciation screening technique, but tuned much more finely, to attempt to identify and quantify the elements which characterise an 'Alsatian accent' displayed by individuals speaking 'French', but because of the nature of bilingualism in Alsatian adults,[1] this technique would give only a one-sided view.

'Alsatian' for most adults is their mother-tongue. It shares many of the characteristics of the L-variety in a classic diglossia as described by Ferguson (1959). 'French' although not perhaps an H-variety according to Ferguson's definition was nevertheless superposed in most cases, between the ages of six and nine. Clearly Alsatian adults displaying a 'French accent' while speaking 'Alsatian' will be rare, and indeed may only be a characteristic of the speech of a non-alsatian Frenchman who has attempted to learn 'Alsatian' as a superposed language. In any case it is obvious that a direct comparison of 'Alsatian accents' with 'French accents' would give very little insight into the acts of identification of these bilingual people. In fact the individual who identifies himself towards his idea of the Alsatian pole rather than towards the French in his social universe probably tends to speak more 'Alsatian' and uses 'French' with an 'Alsatian accent', while the francisised individual would speak less or none of his mother-tongue at all, maintaining it to be an inferior language, of unattractive sonority, etc...

Because of the difficulties involved in Strasbourg in directly

comparing traits of pronunciation as indications of acts of identity, and being interested in revealing more about the nature of these linguistic clues, I decided to adopt the approach of Saer to bilingualism (reported on briefly by Weinreich 1968) who abandoned the sequential aspect of language for an associationist view.

Despite some misgivings on the part of psychologists, the association method, I am sure, has relevance for a multiplicity of linguistic questions. In 1957, for instance, Howes showed a definite correlation between the frequency of some words as responses to stimuli in word-association tests and their overall frequency in everyday speech.

There are, however, two basic opposing theories concerning the phenomenon of association. The first proposes that 'association' is more fundamental than language and that language acquisition is a series of acts of association. The second maintains that the language faculty is primary and sees acts of association as mere indicators of the mechanism of linguistic competence.

To my mind, corroboration of the latter theory is provided by comparing the results of association tests conducted in several languages. If we accept for the moment that *papillon* and *butterfly* are in some way exactly equivalent to each other, the definitive response lists compiled by Russell and Meseck (1959) show that the primary response to the former is 'fleur' (11%), but to the latter 'moth' (15%). In fact it is more likely the case that the two stimuli are not exact equivalents, and occupy quite different positions in associative configurations. Although in the final analysis these configurations are probably idiosyncratic, the results of many association tests indicate that, in the languages so far examined (all highly normalised), there is a high level of similarity between individuals. Indeed some of the primary responses in the definitive lists occur as often as 80% of the time: for example *chair* and *light* in response to *table* and *dark* respectively. Such high response frequencies not only indicate a great homogeneity in the behaviour of individuals within a speech community, but also that the traditional word association test seems to have a somehow uniform impact on its subjects whereby many react similarly -- to the point of reasonable predictability.

Therefore if the association method may be used to provide clues about acts of identity, it might be true that such an approach makes assumption (c) above, with less obvious room for a difference between what the sociolinguist takes for granted and what actually is the case. In this connection it is useful to note Weinreich's suggestion (1968) that a valid indication of the kind of bilingualism present in Swiss Germans is provided by the observation that subjects give 'translation-responses' to certain stimuli; that is, for some bilinguals the most natural response to some stimuli is to translate them into the other language. I myself suggest that clues to the *social identity* of an individual may be extracted from a close study of the direction of such translation-responses.

The experiments

The experiment itself had two parts: the classic word-association test, and

a simple test of recall. The whole was preceded by quite a large number of what we might loosely call 'sociological' questions in order to gain a fuller picture of the subjects and to attempt to see in a correlation of results any corroboration of the hypothesis that acts of identification influence the direction of translation responses.[2] The questions concerned the individual's socio-economic position (schooling, religion, profession, etc.) his opinions on his nationality and his attitudes towards bilingualism. Every question had a 'let-out' answer ('I don't know', 'none of those answers fit', etc.) and the questions were directed more at the individual's view of himself and the view he wanted others to have, than towards the real state of affairs.[3]

For the word association tests, the subjects were prepared by being told that a short list of words would be read to them, and that immediately after each word they should respond with the first word that came to mind. In addition, they were told that the language in which they replied should not necessarily be determined by that of the question-word. The interviews started with a few dummy runs during which the subjects were urged to answer quickly and to give without reflection the first word which sprang to mind, however banal or silly it might seem. Then, while noting the reaction time for each stimulus, the following words were given:

JAUNE	(yellow)	KOPF	(head)
GESCHLOSSEN	(closed)	MUTTER	(mother)
REVER	(to dream)	DENKEN	(to think)
TROTZDEM	(despite, in spite of)	COURIR	(to run)
CEPENDANT	(however, but)	JAMBE	(leg)
GRÜN	(green)	GARÇON	(boy, waiter)
LONG	(long)	HINTER	(behind)
FRAU	(woman, Mrs, wife)		

(the Alsatian words are written with High German spellings)

In order to carry the experiment a little further the following words were given and two responses were asked for. As before the reaction time for both responses was measured.

SCHNELL	(quick, quickly)
OUVERT	(open, opened)
ESSEN	(to eat, food)
DEDANS	(inside)
GRAND-MERE	(grandmother)[4]

In order to make up a well-balanced list several pairs of stimuli (one in French, one in Alsatian) were used. If we accept Clark's (1970) breakdown of the act of association, both elements of these pairs should initiate similar operations, giving rise to similar reaction times to arrive at responses. The list consists of a pair of family terms, MUTTER and GRAND-MERE; a pair of adjectives with obvious opposites LONG and SCHNELL; two nouns and a pair of adjectives with high-frequency primary responses FRAU and GARÇON, GESCHLOSSEN and OUVERT; two colours JAUNE and GRÜN; two body parts KOPF and JAMBE; four common verbs ESSEN, DENKEN, REVER and COURIR; two prepositions DEDANS and HINTER, and a pair of low information words CEPENDANT and TROTZDEM.

It is my belief that translation responses may be used as accurate

linguistic clues to identification. By refining finely graded lists of stimuli from definitive lists of response frequencies, it should be possible, with the notion of 'displacement' to quantify reasonably exactly the 'force' of each individual's translation responses. By way of an illustration of the technique we can proceed to a gross evaluation of some of the Strasbourg results (listed in the Appendix).

We shall use as landmarks the following stimuli and their primary response frequencies as calculated by Russell and Meseck (1959):

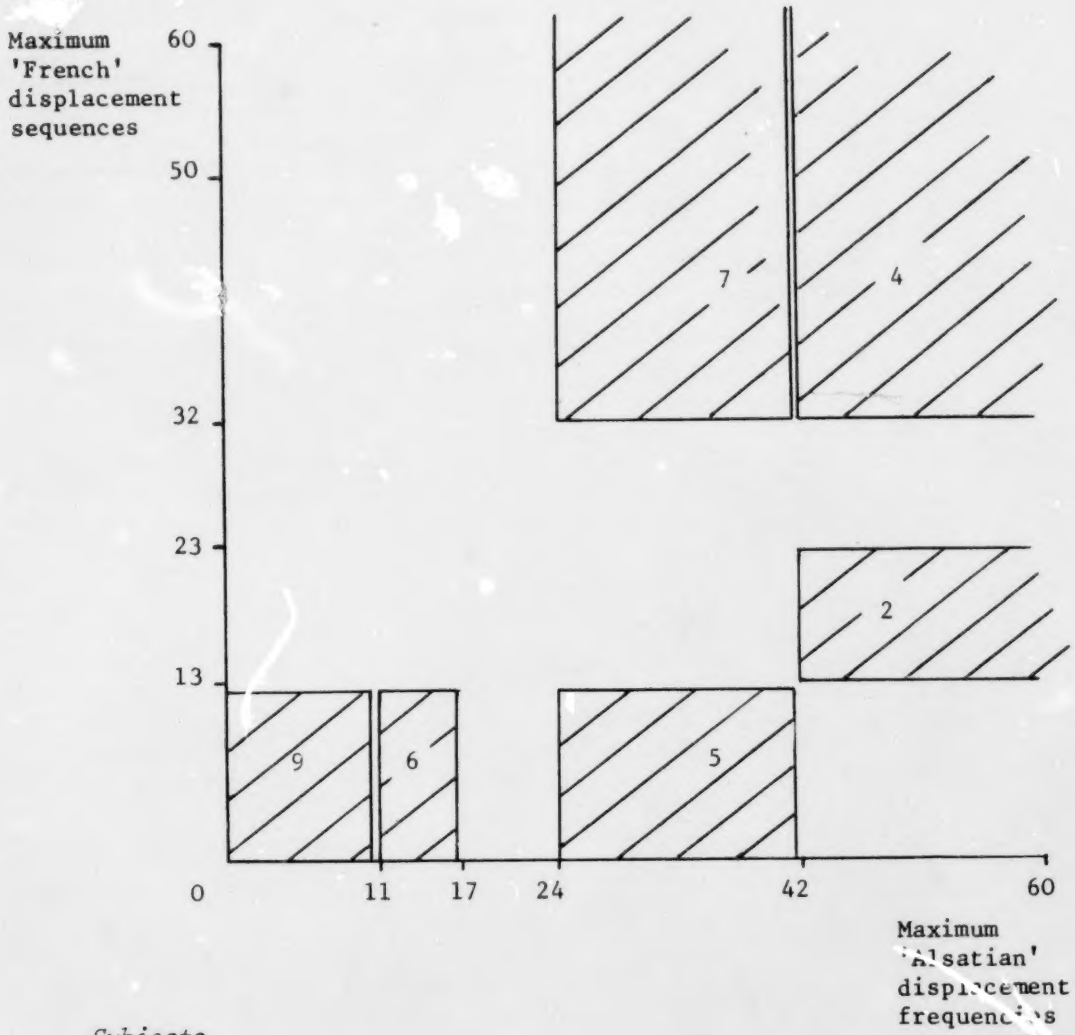
JAUNE	11%	(vert)	(green)
REVER	17%	(sommeil)	(sleep [noun])
LONG	24%	(court)	(short)
GARÇON	42%	(fille)	(girl)
KOPF	13%	(haare)	(hair)
ESSEN	23%	(trinken)	(drink [verb])
SCHNELL	32%	(langsam)	(slowly)

Let us consider subject 2. His responses to all the French stimuli above were translations. (Translations mean here any response in the other language.) We may say that this would lead us to believe that, as far as we know from this very crude list of stimuli, 2's translations responses in an 'Alsatian direction' will displace all primary monolingual responses with a frequency of at least 42%. As for his translation responses in a 'French direction', he translated KOPF but gave monolingual responses for ESSEN and SCHNELL. We may say, then, that 2's 'French' translation responses will 'displace' all primary monolingual responses of at least 13% frequency, but not more than 23%. (Here with more finely graded stimuli it would be possible to narrow down more exactly the highest monolingual primary response frequency both 2's Alsatian and French translation responses would displace.)

This operation has been carried out for subjects 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9 whose results are listed in the Appendix.

Using the results thus obtained a rough graph may be drawn to represent the approximate positions of each individual relative to the others, according to their respective translation response behaviour. (See Figure 1, below). Although this graph is too approximate, and the number of positions plotted too few for any grouping to become really apparent, there does seem to be a certain amount of separation in the direction of forming 3 groups: 9 + 6 vs. 5 + 2 vs. 7 + 4. There might be some correlation with age: the group with the translation responses having the least displacement force namely 9 + 6 being the oldest people interviewed (51 yrs and 46 yrs); 7 + 4 are younger (40 yrs and 38 yrs).

The reaction time has already been shown in psychological uses of this technique to be a very important factor. For all subjects in this test, the reaction time was noticeably longer for the items TROTZDEM and CEPENDANT. Clark (1970) explains this -- as for all such 'low information' words -- as an increase in the difficulty of application of a finite number of generative rules, which describe most stimulus → response relations. Sometimes by the very nature of the operations, certain semantic representations are arrived at which have no possible realisation. The operation begins again, and reaction time lengthens. Such a block seems



Subjects

2 → A a ≥ 42%
→ F 13% ≤ f < 23%

4 → A a ≥ 42%
→ F f ≥ 32%

5 → A 24% ≤ a < 42%
→ F f < 13%

6 → A 11% ≤ a < 17%
→ F f < 13%

7 → A 24% ≤ a < 42%
→ F f ≥ 32%

9 → A a < 11%
→ F f < 13%

Figure 1

to have occurred for subject 8 whose 'Alsatian' translation responses displaced all the landmarks, except for the highest frequency GARÇON 42%. 8 did not translate, but instead of the primary response gave BALLON (ball) which is probably of quite low frequency. The anomaly is however signposted by a reaction time of 4 seconds which is well above 8's mean average time for nouns and by far the longest reaction time for any response, translation or otherwise, given to this particular stimulus by the other subjects. A more finely graded list of stimuli would be more helpful in giving a final decision about this case.

The working of the second experiment is perhaps a little more disguised to the subject. Each informant was asked to listen to the following list of words and afterwards recall as many as possible of them, calling them out in the order he remembered them. As the subject began to reply he received no response from the experimenter (e.g. 'yes, that's it' or 'are you sure?'). The whole of the subject's answer was faithfully noted as he continued, neither aided nor hindered, until he declared himself incapable of remembering any more.

> LANG (long); FAIM (hunger); MOU (soft); DUNKEL (dark); FRERE (brother); NOIR (black); DUR (hard); GRAND (big, great); OBSCUR (dark, obscure); SAUER (sour); HOMME (man); SOIF (thirst); PETIT (small, little); HART (hard); AU-DESSOUS (underneath, below); DUNKEL (dark); BRUDER (brother); DURSTIG (thirsty); KURZ (short); SCHWARZ (black); AU-DESSUS (above, over); TABLE (table); DOUX (sweet, soft, gentle); FEMME (woman, wife); SCHWESTER (sister); DUR (hard); MANN (man, husband); STUHL (chair); FROMAGE (cheese); SOEUR (sister); CLAIR (clear, light); BLANC (white); LICHT (light); ÜBER (over, above); WEICH (soft); HUNGRIG (hungry); TEPPICH (mat, carpet); UNTER (under, underneath); HELL (light); SÜSS (sweet); TISCH (table).

The words presented in random order above in fact consist largely of groups of two words linked by high-frequency association, e.g. SOEUR, FRERE and a fairly close translation SCHWESTER, BRUDER. Cf.

AU-DESSUS		AU-DESSOUS
ÜBER		UNTER
SÜSS	SAUER	
DOUX	DUR	
KURZ		LANG
PETIT		GRAND
MOU	DUR	
WEICH	HART	
HUNGRIG		DURSTIG
FAIM		SOIF

There are also similar potential groupings in the list with one member missing:

SCHWARZ		WEISS missing
NOIR	BLANC	(white)
HOMME	FEMME	
MANN		FRAU missing
		(woman, wife, Mrs)

TABLE		CHAISE missing
TISCH	STUHL	(chair)
DUNKEL	HELL	
	CLAIR	SOMBRE missing (dark) but possibly replaced by *obscur* which is in the list
DUNKEL	LICHT	
OBSCUR		CLAIR missing here but present elsewhere in the list.

The principle of this particular experiment is based on the subject's tendency to give back the list by means of association. The subject remembers, for example, the first element in the list, LANG, which prompts him by association to carry on with KURZ or even to invent LONG which did not actually figure in the list. Since every subject was presented with the same list, they were unknowingly reacting to some of a common set of stimuli. In this way what I contend to be very graphic indications of identity in the individual may be compared. Subjects 4 and 7 for example both make the 'French' association from SCHWARZ to NOIR, while 5 seems more tempted to believe that other Alsatian colour terms were present in the list (*schwarz* black; *grün* green; *rot* red), and 11 arrives at an Alsatian term for darkness *düster* which was not in the list either.

In order to appreciate more exactly the significance of such acts of association, we must take into account the concept of the growth of relatedness, as developed by Bousfield (1953). This states, briefly, that when the subject begins, each word he remembers 'provokes' a large number of associated words in (and sometimes out of) the list to 'present' themselves, and it is the response with the highest frequency that the subject adopts. As the experiment progresses the number of associated words constantly presenting themselves decreases and the associative frequency they represent also lessens. However, theoretically it is still the highest frequency response which is chosen and these more 'far-fetched' associations are momentarily put on a par with the much more frequent ones of the first part of the subject's reconstruction. In this way subject 10 starts off with the expected associations involved in 'finding' FEMME SOEUR (1, 2); AU-DESSUS AU-DESSOUS (3, 4); DUNKEL HELL (6, 7); and then later makes the quite unexpected syntagmatic association HUNGRIG FROMAGE (10, 11).

In interpreting our special kind of translation association, it can now be seen that it would be incorrect to freely compare an association towards the end of the list with another at the beginning. Since we assume these translation responses to be displacing primary monolingual responses, it is clear how the 'displacement force' of the former needs to be relatively strong in order to overcome high response frequencies at the beginning of the subject's list, while only relatively weak at the end. In other words, for my purposes, the direction of translation responses is more significant at the beginning of the reconstruction of the list than at its beginning.[5]

Devices (other than the translation response) whose value as indicators of identification I was interested in, were built into the list at its conception: the reconstruction of items inconspicuously missing in the list (cf. WEISS missing from NOIR, BLANC, SCHWARZ, etc.); the repetition in the 'model list' of DUNKEL and DUR (only subject 8 repeated DUNKEL but apparently absent-mindedly and without any overt statement about noticing

his own or the model's repetition); the introduction of two 'solitary' items, which seemed to me not to be linked associatively with any other item in the list FROMAGE and TEPPICH. I wanted to see if these items could be remembered without the help of association and if this would prove easier for the subjects in one language than in the other. Unfortunately 10's paradigmatic (8, 9) TISCH, TEPPICH and his syntagmatic association mentioned above demonstrate my error. The two items were by no means isolated, especially when the subjects were nearing the end of their reconstructions and relatedness was growing.

Concluding Remarks

In as much as the subject's answers to the sociological questions are representative of their acts of identity, they would seem to indicate that the evidence given by their translation responses in word association tests is significant. This is the only corroboration I propose for my hypothesis concerning the significance, in terms of identification, of translation responses in such tests.

These first interviews, and this first crude treatment of some of the results, should be considered as an illustration of the proposed method. More precision may be achieved by 'fine tuning' the lists of stimuli in conjunction with extensive definitive lists of response frequencies which are yet to be compiled. Also to be investigated is the extent to which the lists may differ from individual to individual according to his social background. With lists of stimuli based on information such as this, the principle of displacement should allow us to quantify very exactly the 'force of translation response'. A technique for quantifying the effects of the increase in relatedness in the reconstruction of lists has to be found before this kind of experiment can be usefully employed.

To show how indicative translation responses are of the individual's identification, a deeper understanding of these reponses must be sought. Are there any factors, for instance, which could help to condition a translation response? Are nearly homophonous pairs (e.g. LANG LONG) more prone to translation than others? Does the fact that some translations are slightly incongruous (e.g. HUNGRIG FAIM) make them less likely? The answers to these and other similar questions are naturally a part of further research into the efficiency of this method.

FOOTNOTES

1 This survey is concerned entirely with the adult population of Strasbourg and some of its results may not be applicable to children. Amongst the children and young adults of the city there are already some monolinguals growing up who, while speaking French with an 'Alsatian accent' have practically no knowledge of their parents' mother-tongue, while others are bilinguals of a different type from their parents. The latter are either growing

up with 'Alsatian' as a superposed language, or with both languages in what seems to be an equal combination.

2 The informant interviews were ordered as follows: sociological questions, reconstruction of list, ordinary associationist stimulus-response tests. It was given by an Alsatian student, whose readiness to use 'Alsatian' and indeed his command of the language were well above the average for students from his region. I am greatly indebted to him for all his help and especially for his magnificent linguistic impartiality in front of the subjects. I was present at every interview as time-keeper but did not speak.

3 Thus one question concerned the language in which the subject dreamed. Whether or not a particular language is apparent in dreams is irrelevant; it is the individual's assurance that he *must* dream in language X or Y which is significant. Subject 10, for example, assured us his parents were Alsatian. In fact, in conversation afterwards he told us quite naturally that his father was German. In the same way it is what the subject considers to be the truth that is important, rather than what is actually so.

4 The first analysis of these 'double responses' was concerned with assessing in each case whether the second response had the first as stimulus or whether it was merely a less frequent response than the first to the original stimulus.

5 Another more minor influence had to be taken into account during the examination of the subject's reconstruction: his interpretation of homophones. Subject 4 for instance, well into the second half of his list, suddenly remembered the beginning of the original list LANG, FAIM and promptly translated them both. However he had obviously heard FAIM as *fin* (finish, end) because his reconstruction reads (12, 13, 14, 15) LANG, FAIM (FIN), LONG (long), FIN (Alsatian [fi:n], finish, end). Another possible association which no-one actually realised was FIN (fine, thin) - EPAIS (thick).

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APPENDIX

1 List reconstruction

(Invented forms not present in the original list are in capitals.)

Subjects

1 lang faim dur au-dessus au-dessous table mann LAMPE JOLI.

2 homme femme soif DURST noir.

3 lang kurz au-dessus femme WEISS schwarz HAND hart.

4 süss tisch schwarz noir mann frère bruder DESSUS hell dunkel TOCHTER lang faim LONG FIN (German) clair obscur fromage weich DICK.

5 FRAU HUNGER DURST MUDE durstig TAUB hell dunkel schwarz GRÜN ROT hart weich SCHLUMMERISCH (spongey) HUNGER MUDE bruder schwester ONKEL TANTE (German).

6 mann FRAU schwester tisch schwarz WEISS hungrig bruder hart weich tisch faim stuhl WEISS schwarz MOLLIG doux frère dunkel hell.

7 HUNGER DUPST licht tisch DOUCE (pronounced 'düss') faim soif tisch table SOHN faim dunkel licht WEISS schwarz noir WEISS SOHN licht AUGEN SCHWER licht SCHWACH MUDE.

8 schwester soeur homme dunkel femme dunkel NACHT STARK schwarz bruder frère STARK lang.

9 lang dunkel durstig hell tisch bruder obscur schwarz KLEIN petit.

10 femme soeur au-dessus au-dessous table dunkel hell tisch teppich hungrig fromage noir lang faim bruder.

11 faim LONG petit grand femme table tisch doux weich mou über noir clair dunkel WEISS mou doux table DESSUS hell clair schwarz DUSTER schwester soeur.

Subjects		1	2	3	4	5
JAUNE		feuille 5"4	gelb 1"8	chinois 2"8	gelb 2"2	rot 1"4
GESCHLOSSEN		tür 1"8	fermé 1"11	Tür 2"6	fermé 1"4	offen gemacht 1"6
RÊVER		belles vacances 7"8	träumen 1"	frei sein 2"	träumen 1"8	geträumt 1"6
TROTZDEM		wir gehen t. fort 5"	malgré 1"7	dagegen 13"	malgré 1"6	Morgen 1"2
CEPENDANT		il croyait c. 17"8	deswegen 8"	trotzdem 9"8	aber 21"	gern 4"
GRÜN		Tischtuch 2"8	vert 1"4	Gras 2"	vert 1"	weiss 1"8
LONG		un long chemin 2"	lang 1"	ein Meter 2"1	lang 1"2	kurz 4"4
FRAU		schöne Frau 2"2	femme 1"	schön 2"	femme 1"2	Mann 1"4
JAMBE		jambe poilue 0"8	der Fuss 2"4	lang 3"4	das Bein 1"6	cuisse 1"8
GARÇON		un petit g. 2"6	der Bube 2"6	stark 2"4	Bube 1"2	fille 1"2
HINTER		h. mir 3"6	derrière 2"8	versteckt 2"8	derrière 1"2	vorne 2"
KOPF		Kopfweh 5"6	tête 0"8	klug 2"6	tête 1"2	Hirn 1"4
MUTTER		die M. ist alt 10"2	die Maman 1"4	die Erde 4"2	mère 1"	die Maman 2"2
DENKEN		schnell denken 2"4	réfléchir 3"	Hauptsache 1"8	penser 1"	fragen 1"6
COURIR		lentement 3"2	rennen 1"2	weit gehen 1"6	rennen 1"2	laufen 1"8
SCHNELL	1)	gehen wir schnell	ein s-er Zug	Kilometer	rapide	langsam
	2)	du bist s. gefahren 12"8	s. rennen 10"8	der Gipfel 13"2	vite 2"	gut 2"3
DEDANS	1)	la petite reste d.	innenwendig	drinnen	drinnen	weiss
	2)	les clefs sont d. 58"2	drinnenarbeit 29"8	geschlossen 4"8	Haus 4"	schwarz 1"4
OUVERT	1)	la porte est o.	der Laden ist offen	offen	offen	hell
	2)	les fenêtres sont o. 12"2	ouvrir la porte 12"	frei 6"4	Bouchonzieher 5"	dunkel 1"4
ESSEN	1)	hast du gut gegessen	gern essen	leben	manger	müde
	2)	gehen wir essen 6"	gut essen 7"4	unterhalten 5"2	Erdbeeren 2"6	Hunger 2"8
GRAND'MÈRE	1)	la g. fait des travaux	die lebt nicht mehr	Gruss	Grossmama	Papa
	2)	elle tient à ses vieilles traditions 14"7	ich werde g. 10"8	alt 4"6	Grosspapa 5"8	Mama 2"2

Subjects		6	7	8	9	10	11
JAUNE		weiss 1"6	gelb 1"	gelb 1"6	noir 1"3	soleil 1"2	gelb 1"2
GESCHLOSSEN		fermé 1"6	fermé 4"	Tür 1"6	ouvert 2"4	porte 1"6	zu 1"
RÊVER		chanter 2"	geträumt 1"2	Bücher 3"4	dormir 1"6	femme 2"	träumen 1"
TROTZDEM		tanzen 5"	warum 13"4	quand même 22"	pourquoi 11"8	parceque 13"	doch 1"2
CEPENDANT		courir 7"6	warum denn 2"4	--	encore 1"7	parceque 4"9	trotzdem 1"2
GRÜN		rot 1"4	gelb 1"2	Farbe 1"4	rose 2"	plaine 3"5	Matten 2"4
LONG		court 3"	lang 1"	Meter 1"8	petit 1"4	bateau 3"	lang 1"4
FRAU		Mann 1"	Mann 0"6	Rock 1"8	Mann 1"2	ménage 2"2	Mann 1"
JAMBE		pied 2"	Bein 1"6	Schuhe 2"4	pied 1"8	bottée 2"2	Bein 1"4
GARÇON		fille 1"6	fille 1"	ballon 4"	fille 1"2	fille 2"	Bube 1"6
HINTER		vorne 1"2	vorne 0"9	Gras 2"4	vorne 0"8	vorne 2"	vorne 1"
KOPF		Fuss 1"4	tête 3"4	Haar 2"2	Ohren 1"7	Fuss 1"	Hals 2"
MUTTER		Papa 1"4	Papa 1"	essen 3"	Vater 1"4	Vater 1"2	ma mère 2"3
DENKEN		? 2"8	réfléchir 1"4	Zahltag 12"	rêver 7"4	lesen 5"	penser 1"3
COURIR		rester 19"	rennen 1"2	piste 5"	marcher 2"8	tomber 2"6	rennen 1"6
SCHNELL	1)	langsam	courir	laufen	langsam	voiture	weit
	2)	rennen 7"	vite 3"6	reden 8"4	rennen 2"8	autoroute 6"	langsam 2"6
DEDANS	1)	aussen	drinnen	Haus	drinnen	dehors	drinnen
	2)	darunter 4"2	innenwendig 1"8	Zimmer 3"	da 7"4	rue 4"8	draussen 1"8
OUVERT	1)	zu	offen	porte	fermé	fermé	offen
	2)	daoben 7"6	ein Baum 4"2	porte-monnaie 3"4	offen 3"9	porte 3"2	zu 2"2
ESSEN	1)	trinken	manger	Teller	schlafen	trinken	manger
	2)	schlafen 2"8	boire 3"6	Gabel 2"4	trinken 3"6	dick werden 5"6	trinken 2"
GRAND'MÈRE	1)	grand'père	Grossmama	Rock	grand'père	grand'père	Grossmama
	2)	tante (fr.) 5"1	Grosspapa 2"2	Korb 3"6	soeur 6"8	parent 5"8	? 6"2